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Alfred M.

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Respectfully

Alfred M. [illegible]

for

A
DECLARATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE
OF
ESTATES 3

of the Parliament of
SCOTLAND,

In Vindication of their proceedings from the
aspersions of a scandalous Pamphlet, publi-
shed by that excommunicate Traytor,
JAMES GRAHAME.


*Under the title of a Declaration of James Marques of Montrosse, &c.
Printed in the year, 1649.*

Together with

A DECLARATION
And Warning unto all the Members of this
KIRK AND KINGDOM

In answer to a paper intituled and reputed the Declaration of
JAMES GRAHAME,
By the Commission of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.

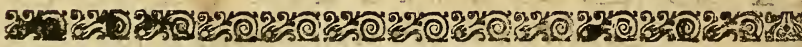
EDINBURGH, Printed by Evan Tyler, printer to the Kings most
Excellent Majesty, 1650.



EDINBURGH, 24. January, 1650.

THE Committtee of Estates Ordains
their Declaration in Vindication of their
proceedings from the aspersions of a scandalous
Pamphlet, published by that excommunicate
Traytor, Iames Grahame, under the title of
a Declaration of Iames Marques of Mon-
trosse, &c. To be printed, With the Decla-
ration of the Commisson of the Generall Assem-
bly in answer to the said scandalous Pamphlet,
And also to be published.

Tho: Henderson.





EDINBURGH, January 24. 1650.

A Declaration of the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, In vindication of their proceedings from the aspersions of a scandalous Pamphlet, published by that excommunicate Traytor, James Grahame, under the title of a Declaration of James Marques of Montrosse, &c. Printed 1649.

IT may seem strange to such as know the state of affairs in this Kingdom that we should think it worth the while to answer the slanders and groundles reproaches of that viperous brood of Sathan, *James Grahame*, whom the Estates of Parliament have long since declared traytor, the Church hath delivered into the hands of the devill, and the Nation doth generally detest and abhor. Since we know there hath been and will be in all ages a wicked rabble of godless men, who make it their work to follow the righteous cause with aspersions and calumnies, and it is an endless labour to answer every voyce that speaks against the truth; and seeing also at length the innocencie of our cause, The integrity of our hearts, and the candor of our actions will prevail over the malicious tongues of our adversaries, Yet because our silence may be subject to misconstruction, and some of the weaker sort may be inveigled by the bold assertions and railing accusations of this impudent Braggard, presenting himselfe to the view of the world, clothed with his Majesties authority as Lieutenant Governour and Captain Generall of this Kingdom: We shall shortly answer what is said against us, take off the maske which he hath put on, and expose him to publick view in his own apparell.

This excommunicate Traytor in the first place, chargeth his own Nation with hatching a Rebellion in this Kingdom, then with the promoting the like in *England*, and lastly with the sale and murder of their native King, and robbing his Son of all right; horred crimes indeed, if true:

But how can we be accounted the hatches or designers, or in the least sort the disturbers of the peace? Were we not living quietly and peaceably when that new Liturgie, purposely compiled to introduce a change of Religion, and compliance with popery, was violently pressed upon us? And when this and other Innovations in the matter of Religion were condemned by the Generall Assembly holden at *Glasgow*, in the year 1638. Were we not invaded with Armies both by Sea and Land? Did we offer to stir, untill Religion and justice, the main pillars of Government, were shaken and neer to be overturned? And shall the standing upon our own defence for preservation of our Religion and liberties be reckoned Rebellion? Did we desire any other thing of his Majesty when we were in Armes, But that all matters Ecclesiasticall should be determined by the Assemblies of the Church, and matters Civill by the Parliament? And so soon as his Majesty did assent thereunto, did we not forthwith lay down Armes within the space of 48. hours, and return to our own homes, leaving all forts and Castles to his Majesties disposall.

After all differences about Religion were settled in a new Generall Assembly of the Kirk with consent and approbation of his Majesties Commissioner in the year, 1639. and after he had in his Majesties name subscribed the Covenant, he did unexpectedly prorogue the Parliament without consent of the Estates of Parliament, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and to the agreement and pacification at *Berwick*; and Commissioners, sent to his Majesty to give account of the proceedings of the Assembly and Parliament, and represent their humble desires, were, upon the suggestion of wicked Counsellors about his Majesty, put under restraint, and one of them made close prisoner, contrary to the Law of Nations, and his Majesties Royall warrant; A garison of English was put in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which, beside other violence and outrage, killed divers women and children; our ships and goods were taken, and the owners stript naked, and more barbarously used then with Turks and Infidells. A new Army was levied against us in *England* in the year, 1640. and a Commission granted to the Earle of *Northumberland* to subdue and destroy us, and generally great preparations were made both at home and abroad, without ever signifying the cause or any quarrell against us; whereupon wee were again necessitated to take up Armes for our own defence, and with our supplications in the one hand, and swords in the other, to make way through our enemies forces to present our just grievances to his Majesty: when we were advanced the length of *New-Castle*

Castle, we were commanded by his Majesty to halt there, and to make known our desires by Commissioners, to which we readily obeyed, and through the Lords blessing a happy agreement was again made betwixt his Majesty and us, and betwixt the two Kingdoms, all Proclamations, Books and Libells against us were recalled, suppressed and forbidden, and at the close of the Treaty our loyalty was made known at the time of thanksgiving for the peace in all the Parish Churches of his Majesties dominions, and the authors and fomenters of these troubles were with his Majesties consent referred to the triall and censure of the respective Parliaments in both Kingdoms, of which number, *James Grahame*, then Earl of *Montrosse* was found to be one, and therefore imprisoned in the Castle of *Edinburgh*: His late Majesty himselfe then being Iudge, we are justified, and *James Grahame* condemned; for his Majesty having come in person to this Kingdom, parted a contented King from a contented people, leaving him to be arraigned before the Commission appointed by his Majesty and the Estates of Parliament for the triall of Incendiaries.

In the next place, this libeller chargeth us with soliciting a partie in *England* to begin where we had broke off, hindring them when they were willing to rest satisfied with his Majesties extraordinary Concessions, and afterward for assisting them with a strong Army against our natave King.

What can be alledged with lesse probability and more malice then this, to say, we studied to widen the breach, when it is well known our loyalty and love to peace made us to send Commissioners expressly to endeavour a reconciliation. All that know any thing of the beginning of that difference betwixt his Majesty and his subjects of *England*, may easily perceive that we had not the least hand in contriving it: The matters then in question betwixt his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament were about their own Priviledges and the Rebellion in *Ireland*, of the rise and progress whereof we suppose even *James Grahame* himselfe will acquit us.

Touching the assistance given by this Kingdom to the Houses of Parliament about the year 1643. it was not given unrequired, or without cause, nor upon uncertain or unlawfull conditions as he would inform; But this Kingdom having used their best endeavours by way of mediation and intercession with his Majesty for an agreement with his Houses of Parliament of *England*, without successe; and his Majesty having made an agreement with the Rebels in *Ireland*, whom formerly hee had declared

Traytors, for their bloody massacre of many thousand Protestants, And having also intrusted divers Popish Commanders in his Majesties Armies in *England*, whereby the Popish, Prelaticall and Malignant partie in all appearance were likely to prevail over all that were well affected to the reformed Religion, We granted assistance unto them upon the earnest invitation of both Houses of Parliament, and a solemn league and Covenant betwixt the Kingdoms for Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happinesse of the King, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdoms, which was first approven & solemnly sworn in *England* by the two Houses of Parliament and Assembly of Divines, and afterward by the Commission of the Generall Assembly of this Kirk, and Convention of Estates, as the most powerfull mean, by the blessing of God, for settling and preserving the true Protestant Religion with perfect peace in his Majesties Dominions, and for establishing his Majesties throne to all ages and generations.

These are the grounds whereupon we engaged to give assistance to the Kingdom of *England*, as may be clearly seen in the Covenant, Treaty and Declarations of the Kingdoms, which grounds are conscientious and just in themselves, And where any have swarved from these principles by declining either to Malignancie on the one hand, or to Sectarisme on the other : We are confident that none can with justice charge the corruptions and failings of men upon the rule according to which they ought to have walked, nor can they impute their faults to us who have carefully studied and endeavoured to pursue those ends as we are able to demonstrate from all our proceedings.

His last and main forgeries against us, are, that his late Majesty being redacted to think on extream courses, did engage us by a Treaty, and having got all manner of assurance from us, did cast himselfe in the hands of our Army which was sent into *England* for assistance of the two Houses of Parliament against the Popish, Prelaticall and Malignant party ; And that we, contrary to all faith, paction and duty, sold our Sovereign, and afterwards plotted his destruction, and now begin upon the same score with the Son, declaring him King with provisoes, and robbing him of all right while we would seeme to give some unto him, and are more perniciously hatching the destruction of his present Majesty then ever we did his sacred fathers.

What a strange contexture of multiplied lies doth this malicious man heap together ? In all this, there is not one word true, save one that
his

his Majestie was redacted to think on extream courses, and that makes against him; for Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, having defeated the Kings forces in the fields, suddenly resolves to block up *Oxford*, where the King was in person, thinking that the shortest way to put an end to their troubles, wherewith his Majesty being surpris'd, privately escapes with two or three from *Oxford*, uncertaine whither to goe, first he came toward *London* as far as *Harrow* on the hil, which is about ten miles from it; and being privately advertis'd, that he could not be in *London* with safteie, hee directed his course toward the sea, and that likewise failing, he came into the *Scottish* Army without acquainting those that had the trust and charge of the Army. Where was there either time or place for a treaty here, and what were these assurances which were given? His late Majesty was often told while he was at *Newcastle*, that he came to them without any invitation, assurance or engagement on their parts; and no doubt if there had been any the least assurance given, it had been long since made known to the world: But it was so farre on the contrary (as doth appeare by the letter of the Committee of the Parliament of *Scotland* residing with their Army in *England*, to the Committee of both Houses of Parliament, written upon the 5. of *May* 1646. being the same very day that his Majesty came into their quarters) *That they were filled with amazement at his coming*: In which letter they do farther professe, *That they cannot think that his Majesty could have been so unadvised in his resolution to have cast himself upon that Army without a reall intention to give full satisfaction to both Kingdomes in all their just and reasonable Demands, and whatsoever should be his disposition or resolution, that the Parliament of England, might be assured that they should never entertain any thought, nor correspond with any purpose, nor countenance any endeavours, that may, in any circumstance, encroach upon the Solmne League and Covenant, or weaken the union and confidence betwixt the two Nations*. They did likewise declare the same to his Majesty, and earnestly intreat that he would give speedily satisfaction to his Parliaments of both Kingdomes, and clearly represented unto him, that if he should not grant their just desires, they would be constrained to take such a course as by the mutual advise & resolution of both Kingdoms, they might be saved from a breach & the dangerous consequences thereof. The Lord Generall the Earle of *Leven*, and the officers and souldiers of the Army, did also joine in a Declaration to make known their constant resolution to adhere to the whole heades and Articles of their Covenant,

venant, and that his Majesties presence had not begotten any alteration
 in their minds in the least measure to estrange them from the wayes of
 the Covenant. And further, it is a thing very improbable, that the Com-
 mittee residing with the Army, would enter into a treaty with his Maje-
 stie, for which they could never be able to give an accompt to the Parlia-
 ment of Scotland, it being altogether without the bounds of their Com-
 mission and instructions, and an expresse Article of the treatie betwixt the
 Kingdoms, *That no cessation nor any pacification, or agreement for peace
 whatsoever, shall be made by either Kingdome, or the Armies of either
 Kingdome, without the mutuall advise and consent of both Kingdomes.*
 But that which removes it beyond all controversie, is, his Majesties owne
 profession in his letters to both Houses of Parliament and to the Com-
 mittee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, of the 18. & 19. of May,
 wherein he Declares, *That he came to the Scottish Armie With a full and
 absolute intention to give all just satisfaction to the joynt desires of both
 Kingdomes, and with no thought, either to continue this unnaturall War
 any longer, or to make a division betwixt the Kingdomes, but to comply
 with his Parliaments and those intrusted by them in every thing for the
 settling of truth & peace, that he had received some papers from their Com-
 missioners, & that he would study totally to apply himself to the advices
 and Counsells of his Parliament, That he had given order for recalling
 all Commissions issued forth by his authority against his subjects, and
 for disbanding all his forces, and ordered a proclamation together with
 his letter to be published to all his subjects, that it might appeare it was
 his voluntary and cordiall resolution and reall intention to joyne with
 his Parliaments in settling religion in purity (after the advice of the
 Divines of both Kingdomes assembled at Westminster) and his subjects of
 both Kingdomes in Freedom and safety.* Upon these termes the Scot-
 tish Armie did receive him, and would have cheerefully adventured their
 lives and all that was dearest unto them for preservation of his person,
 honour and happinesse against all opposition whatsoever: But how far his
 Majesty was from following the advise of his Parliaments of both King-
 domes, was too too manifest, when he refused to grant the propositions
 of both, presented unto him at *Newcastle*, in the Moneth of *July*, by their
 Commissioners, or to give a satisfactory answer to any one of them;
 Notwithstanding, many of the chiefe of the nobility of this Kingdom, and
 his privie Counsell did beg his assent upon their knees, and, with teares in
 their eyes, represent the sad consequences of his refusall.

Whilst these things were doing, the Sectarian partie (who never li-
 ked

liked any agreement for peace which might carry along with it the Presbyterian interest) fearing that the King should at length be induced to give satisfaction to the joynt desires of both Kingdomes in the propositions of peace, by all meanes studied and endeavoured the removeall of the Scottish Armie out of *England*, for which end they were very busie by their emissaries & agents amongst the members of Parliament & in the City & Committee. In the House of Commons their partie was not great, but most of the members being very desirous to be eased of the great burthens continued upon the Kingdome now after the War was at an end, and not perceiving the design of the Sectaries, did upon the 19. of *May*, (within a fortnight after the King came to the Scottish Armie,) joyne in a vote to declare that the Kingdome of *England* had no further use of the continuing of the Scottish Army in that Kingdom, and that upon adjusting of their accompts, they shall be satisfied what shall be due unto them according to the Treaty: Hereupon all supplies for entertainment of that army were withdrawn, though earnestly solicited by the Commissioners of this Kingdom, and for want thereof the Armie was necessitated to take free quarter from the Country people; also secret directions were given to the Parliaments forces, who lay neer to the Scottish Army, to straiten their quarters, which was done accordingly: whereupon they were necessitated to quarter in the four most northern Counties, and a small part of *Yorkshire*, (the most barren parts of that Kingdom) which made the burthen of those places grow insupportable: thence arose clamours and complaints of intollerable oppression, and these were represented in a multiplying glasse, with large additions and aggravations to the Houses of Parliament, so as it was made common discourse, that the Scots came in for their assistance, but were like to stay for their ruine, and if they continued any longer in the Kingdome, the northern parts would be utterly wasted, and many families perish, further by the industrie of the Sectaries libells & railing pamphlets were published, and informations spread against the Scots as Covenant-breakers, apostats from the cause, and compliers with the malignant partie, the better to prepare the minds of the people for removing our Armie by force, if it would not willingly; but the Kingdom of *Scotland* being desirous to apply themselves to such faire and just wayes as tended to an amicable parting, and to the prevention of misunderstandings between the Kingdomes, did in the begining of *August*, give power to their Commissioners at *London* to settle all differences concerning the pay of the *Scottish* Armie; And the Houses of Parliament having offered to pay presently 200000. l. before the removall of our Armie out of that Kingdome, and other two hundred thousand

pounds thereafter, the Commissioners of this Kingdome, did upon the 2 of *September*, Declare themselves satisfied therewith, and passed from their former claim, extending to very near ten hundred thousand pounds, that it might appeare to all the world that the love of money was neither the cause of their coming into, or abode in that Kingdom. There remained no material difference betwixt the Nations, save only concerning the disposall of the Kings person, his Majestie having refused to grant the propositions of peace. Upon the 18. of *September*, the House of Commons did vote, that the person of the King shall be disposed of as both Houses of the Parliament of *England* shall think fit, wherein the house of Lords gave their concurrence upon the 24, and a grand Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to conferre, consult and debate with the Commissioners of this Kingdome concerning the disposall of the person of the King; But before the Houses would give their consent to begin this Conference, they declared, that whatsoever consultation or debate shall be with the Commissioners of *Scotland*, concerning the disposall of the person of the King, shall not be understood to be any capitulation or treaty between the Kingdomes in relation to the retarding of the march of the *Scottish* Army and forces out of *England*, to which our Commissioners were necessitated to agree, or otherwise to have no conference at all: In the conference there were many & large debates for severall dayes, the Houses of Parliament claiming the sole right and power in the disposall of the person of the King in *England*, and our Commissioners asserting that both Kingdomes had an interest in the disposall of his person, whither he were in *England*, or *Scotland*, being the King of both, but at length the conference broke off without any agreement. Then the Houses did again begin to presse the removall of the *Scottish* Armie out of *England*, and most of Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes* Armie marched northward; Complaints were renewed from the North concerning their heavie pressures, and it was suggested by the Sectaries to diverse members of the House of Commons, that the *Scots* were resolved to espouse the malignant quarrell, and intended no lesse then the conquest of *England*, which was too readily beleaved by many, even of those who were promoters of Presbiteriall government, so much the rather that satisfaction being offered in the moneth of *August* by the Houses touching the pay of the Armie, and the totall summe agreed unto by the Kingdome of *Scotland* on the 2. of *September*, their Armie notwithstanding did still continue in the Kingdom of *England*, for the space of five moneths, from the beginning of *September*, untill *February*.

The Kings Majestie, having staid for a long time in the *Scottish* Armie, though at first when he came unto them in the moneth of *May*, he seemed inclinable to give satisfaction to his Parliaments of both Kingdomes, (particularly in the matter of Religion, having in his letter of the 18. of *May* from the *Scots* Leagure at *Southwell*, heartily recommended it to his two Houses of Parliament to take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at *Westminster*, for speedy finishing that pious and necessary work; And in his letter to *Scotland* of the 19. of *May*, professed it to be his voluntary and cordiall resolution to joyne with his Parliaments in settling Religion) yet divers of the Prelatical and Malignant partie, having secretly got access to his Majesty when he was at *Newcastle*, hee became altogether averse from giving satisfaction, and perceiving the stedfast resolution of the *Scottish* Army to adhere to the solemn League and Covenant, for reformation and defence of Religion, he proposed (in his Answer to the Propositions) to the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, that he might come to *London*, or any of his houses thereabouts with freedom, honour and safety, that he might further treat upon these Propositions of peace presented unto him; And upon the 20. of *December*, he renewes his desire for comming to *London*, or any of his houses thereabouts for a further treaty upon the Propositions: This letter coming to their hands upon the 25. of *December*, upon the 31. they resolve, That *Holmby* house in the Countie of *Northampton* be the place which the Houses think fit for the King to come unto, there to remain with such attendants about him as both Houses of Parliament shall appoint, with respect had to the safety and preservation of his Person in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and liberties of the Kingdoms according to the Covenant, And when the King shall be at *Holmby* as aforesaid, and the *Scots* forces gone out of the Kingdom of *England*, the two Houses of Parliament declare, that then they will be ready, according to their former Declarations for preserving the particular rights of the Kingdom of *England*, to joyne with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in employing their best endeavours to procure his Majesties assent to the propositions agreed on by both Kingdoms and presented to his Majestie at *Newcastle*.

This vote both Houses sent inclosed to his Majestie, and also to the Commissioners of this Kingdome residing with his Majestie at *Newcastle*, who forthwith transmitted the same to the Parliament then sitting in *Scotland*, who taking into their most serious consideration the vote of of both Houses, and the necessitie of the speedy return of their Army from *England*, thought it their duty once more to make their application

to his Majestie, before they took any resolution in relation to the disposall of his Majesties person, and accordingly, they sent Commissioners to his Majesty again, with all earnestnesse and humility to desire his assent to the propositions as that which was the only way to procure peace, and the most effectuall mean to establish and continue Monarchical Government in his Majesties person and posterity, and that his Majesty might be induced to give his assent thereunto, to remember his Majesty, what were his promises when he came into the Scottish Army, for following the advice of his Parliaments, and to represent the many advantages of his granting the propositions, and particularly to give assurance in the name of the Parliament, that this Kingdom would most willingly sacrifice their lives and fortunes to establish his Majesty on his throne, if he should grant the propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and give a satisfactory answer to the rest of the propositions; And upon the other part, in case his Majesty should refuse or delay, then to represent that they found it not lawfull for them to assist his Majesty for recovering the possession of his Government, his Majesty not granting the propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and giving a satisfactory answer to the rest of the propositions. That they found his Majesties coming to *Scotland*, dangerous to the cause, to his Majesty, to this Kingdom, and to the union betwixt the Kingdoms, and that both Kingdoms would be necessitated to take a joynt course for disposall of his person untill he should give a satisfactory Answer to the propositions of both Kingdoms: These earnest desires and offers being made to his Majesty, and the dangers faithfullie represented, and his Majesty hearkning to the wicked counsels of these who never sought his honour and happinesse, but their owne particular interest, and refusing to follow the faithfull advice of his Parliament; upon the 16. of *January*, 1647. the Estates of Parliament passed a declaration, wherein, having considered his Majesties promises when he came into the *Scottish* Armie, to follow the advice of his Parliaments, his refusall to grant the propositions of both Kingdomes notwithstanding the frequent addressees of this Kingdome for that purpose, his Majesties desire to be in *London* or some of his houses neare to his Houses of Parliament, and the desire of the two houses that he may come to *Holdenby* house, promising the safety & preservation of his royall person in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and liberties of the Kingdomes according to the Covenant; they did declare their concurrence for his Majesties going to *Holdenby* house or some other of his houses in or about *London*, there to remaine untill he give satisfaction to both Kingdomes in the propositions of peace, and that in the interim there shall

shall be no harm, prejudice, injurie or violence done to his Royall person; that there shall bee no change of Government other then had been for the 3. years preceeding, and that his posteritie should nowayes be prejudged in their lawfull succession to the Crown and government of these Kingdomes.

Together with this declaration, they sent some desires to the Parliament of *England*, that when his Majesty should be at *Holmby*, Committees from both Kingdomes should attend his Majestie, and employ their best endeavours to procure his Majesties assent to the Propositions of both Kingdomes presented to his Majestie at *Newcastle*, And in case the King should not give his assent thereunto, that the happie union betwixt the Kingdomes might be continued according to the Covenant and Treaties, That according to the late Treaty betwixt the Kingdomes, no cessation nor any pacification or agreement for peace whatsoever, should be made by either Kingdome, or the Armies of either Kingdome, without the mutuall advice and consent of both: And that none should be debarred from having acesse to his Majestie who have warrant from the Parliament of *Scotland*, or their Committees thereunto authorized whereunto the Houses of Parliament did agree, and his Majestie attended by a Committee of both Kingdomes, did repaire to *Holmby* house in the moneth of *February*.

The Houses of Parliament who were unanimous concerning the removal of the *Scottish* Army out of *England*, and the Kings coming to *Holmby* house, began now to differ according to the different ends wh^{ch} they had therein proposed unto themselves; for the whole House of Peers, very few excepted, and the far greatest part of the House of Commons were resolved if once the *Scottish* Armie were removed out of *England*, to send a considerable number of their owne forces over unto *Ireland*, to prosecute the war there, (the Lord *Ormond*, having declared his willingness to leave the sword, and all the places under his command to the house of Parliament) and to keep up in *England*, only so many forces as was necessarie to preserve the Kingdome from disturbance, and these under the command of such officers as had taken the Covenant and were well affected to the worke of Reformation: And their Armie being thus modeled, then to proceed to the settling of a peace with his Majesty upon his grant of the propositions for religion, and such satisfaction in matters civill as should be found necessary for the s^{af}tie and security of both Kingdomes. All which, these that did best understand the affairs of *England*, and weremost opposit to the Sectaries, did think the Houses of Parliament were better able to bring to passe without, then with the assistance of the *Scot-*

ish Armie, in regard of the many jealousies both the Parliament and people had of the continuing of the *Scottish* Armie in *England*, the consideration whereof was one of the main reasons that moved this Kingdome to withdraw their Armie out of *England*, and to agree to his Majesties going to *Holmby*, there being no ground to hope that the stay of their Armie could be longer usefull in that Kingdome, when both friends and foes were desirours of their removall.

Immediately after their returne to this Kingdome, and his Majesties going to *Holmby*, both houses passed an Ordinance for suppressing heresies and schismes and unwarrantable preaching, and appointed the 10. of *May* for a day of humiliation because of the growth of heresies and schismes, and ordained that no foot should be kept up except in Garisons, and only five thousand four hundred Horse in the field under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; no other officer to be above the degree of a Colonnell; no member of either house to have any charge in field or Garison, that all who should be employed should take the Covenant, and conform to the government of the Church then established, and none who had been in arms against the Parliament should have any charge, nor any prophane curser, swearer, drunkerd, or other person who was Scandalous in life and conversation, and that eight thousand four hundred foot, and two thousand four hundred horse out of the rest of the Army, should goe to *Ireland*; Two hundred thousand pounds were advanced by the City at the desire of the houses to be sent to the Armie, and such forces as were neither to be kept up in the service of *England*, nor would ingage for *Ireland*, were appointed to be disbanded on the 2. of *June*.

The modelling and disbanding of the Armie being thus farre advanced, his Majestie upon the 12. of *May*, sent an answer to the propositions of peace, wherein he did further condescend towards the granting of the desires of his Parliaments then he had done formerly, upon receipt whereof the house of *Peers* voted that the King should come from *Holmby*, neerer *London*, to his house at *Oatlands*, and desired herein the concurrence of the house of Commons.

This is a true relation of what passed from the time of his Majesties coming to the *Scottish* Armie in the moneth of *May*, 1646. to the end of *May*, 1647. And now here we shall make a stand, and desire all such as have not yeelded up their reason and judgment to passion and prejudice, to consider if in all these Transactions any thing of disloyaltie toward our King on the one hand, nor unfaithfulness in the matter of our Covenant toward the Kingdome of *England* upon the other, can be laid to our charge. Our chiefe studie and endeavour hath been to render

unto God the things that are Gods, to *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſars*, and to our neighbours the things that are theirs. Wee hope it is made cleare and evident to all that will judge impartially, That there was no treaty betwixt this Kingdome, their Committees or Armies with the King before his coming to our Armie, nor after his coming, but with adviſe and conſent of both houſes of Parliament, And that it is a malitious wicked device and manifeſt untruth, that we ſould our King; wee abhorre the very thought of it as ſincerely as wee doe abhorre the treacherous actions of that perfidious Traytor *James Graham*, who, as a child of the Devill, hates to ſpeak truth. Let the world judge what ground there is for this reproach which wicked men would caſt upon us, That wee were hired with money by *England* to agree, that the King ſhould come to *Holmbie*, when the Armie got only two hundred thouſand pound of the Arrears due unto them for a very laborious ſervice, and as a part of the great expenſes they had been at by their expedition into *England* for the ends of the Covenant. When alſo this agreement for payment of their arreares was made five moneths before the King with conſent of both Kingdomes, went from *Newcaſtle* to *Holmbie*, yea at that time, neither the Kingdome of *England*, nor *Scotland* had reſolved any thing touching the diſpoſall of the Kings perſon, whither he ſhould come to *London*, or to ſome of his houſes neare it, or ſtay at *Newcaſtle*, or goe to *Scotland*, all the debates about the right and intereſt to diſpoſe of the King, were ſubſequent to the agreement concerning the totall ſumme due to the *Scottiſh* Armie, and if there had been any tranſaction publick or privat betwixt the Kingdomes in *Auguſt*, 1646. when they agreed concerning the ſummes due to the *Scottiſh* Armie, would the Kingdome of *England* have borne the burthen of intertaining the *Scottiſh* Armie, (being above 20000. Horſe and Foot) five moneths thereafter to their great charge and expenſe. What needed all theſe long debates about the King in the painted chamber betwixt the houſes and the Commiſſioners of this Kingdome in the moneths of *October*, which were alſo publiſhed in print, and what needed theſe frequent addreſſes of the Parliament of *Scotland*, to his Maſteſty in the moneth of *November*, *December* and *January*, if all was agreed on betwixt the Kingdomes in the moneth of *Auguſt*, And how inconfiſtent is any ſuch agreement with the offer of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, very few dayes before his removall from *Newcaſtle* moſt willingly to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for eſta bliſhing his Maſteſtie upon his throne if even then he would be pleaſed to give a ſatisfactory answer to the propoſitions. Certainly malice it ſelf may here ſtoppe its mouth, and forbear to lay any thing to our charge in this particular

cular, Neither can this Kingdome be justly accused of disloyalty or imprudence in giving consent to his Majesties going to *Holmbie* or some of his Houses about *London*, because of that which hath followed since; for counsels and resolutions must not be judged according to accidents and events. Who could at that time have foreseen that an Armie raised by the Parliament for their owne defence, and which in profession so highly esteemed and magnified the authoritie of Parliament, would not onely disobey their orders, but also attempt such horrid things as they have since adventured upon? Surely when the Scottish Armie came out of *England*, it would have seemed not only improbable but incredible. The Kingdome of *Scotland* did trust his Majesties person to the honourable Houses of the Parliament of *England*, who were as deeply engaged by duty, oaths, Covenants and solemne profession for his Majesties preservation as the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and no question, they would have preserved his Majesties person from all injury or violence whatsoever, had they not met with unexpected violence against their owne persons; for untill the Armie did by the power of the sword, imprison and seclude the farre greatest part of the Members of the house of Commons, and make voyd the power of the house of Lords, they durst not attempt any thing against his Majesties person. And what wonder, that we who were strangers, could not perceive the depth of such designs (if at that time there was any formed designe of that kind, which wee very much question,) when the Houses of Parliament did not foresee their owne ruine, and his Majestie himselfe in the year 1647. when the Propositions of both Kingdomes were presented unto him againe at *Hampton Court*, in the moneth of *September*, had such confidence in the Armie, as he was by them induced to beleieve that their propofalls did much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and might be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace, then the Propositions of both Kingdomes then tendered unto him; And in his answer of the 9. of *September*, desired the two Houses to take into their consideration the Armes propofalls, as the best way in his judgement, in order to peace yea, when his Majestie upon the 11. of *November*, 1647. did retire from *Hampton court* for the preservation of his person, which was in danger as he apprehended, from the levelling partie of the Armie, and was at libertie to have gone whither he pleased; yet so little did he fear any danger to his person from the cheife leaders of the Armie, as he choosed the Isle of *Wight* rather then any other place that he might still continue under the protection of the Armie, as he doth profess in his letter of the 19. of *November* 1647. to both houses of Parliament.

As to the remainder of that which is said against us by that wretched man

man, that we complotted his late Majesties destruction, and have Declared his Son King with provisoos, robbing him of all right, and are more pernitiouſly hatching the destruction of his present Majesty then ever we did his royal Fathers. We ſay no perſon on earth has contributed more toward his Majesties ruine then *James Grahame* himself; And not only the ſearcher of hearts and our owne conſciences, but all our actions and proceedings will witneſſe for us, that wee are altogether free of the guilt of his Majesties destruction: We never flattered his Majestie in any evill way, nor advised his Majestie to any ſuch courſes as might beget differences betwixt him and his people; Our counſells unto him alwayes tended to his Majesties giving ſatisfaction to the juſt deſires of his Parliaments, which through the Lords bleſſing might have prevented the ſad and deplorable condition the royall family is now brought unto by wicked instruments, and we were ſtill ſo farre from complotting his Majesties destruction, as wee ever freely imparted unto his Majestie whatſoever prejudice or danger wee feared to his perſon or poſterity. The Eſtates of Parliament of this Kingdome when they firſt heard of the proceedings of the Sectaries in *England* againſt his Majestie, and that ſome pamphlets had been publiſhed there, inſinuating the compliance of ſome in *Scotland*, with the wicked practiſes there, did make ſtrict enquire at all the members of Parliament upon their ſolemn oath whether themſelves had, or they knew of any others within this Kingdome that had acceſſion unto the proceedings of the *English* Armie in relation to the King or the Houſes of Parliament, and could not find that there was any within this Kingdom had any acceſſion thereunto, which they forthwith publiſhed in Print & cauſed to be made publik in *England* alſo by their Commiſſioners before his Majesties death. And further, the Commiſſioners of this Kingdom, upon the very firſt motion of proceedings againſt the King, did by their paper of the 6. of *Jan.* 1649. repreſent how contrary it was to the ſolemn League and Covenant and many ſolemn profeſſions and Declarations of both Kingdomes, and that ſuch a thing could not but continue and increaſe the great diſtractions of theſe Kingdomes, and involve us in many difficulties, miſeries and confuſions: they alſo endeavoured to have acceſſe to his Majestie, but could not, and when a Commiſſion was given to certaine perſons for his Majesties tryall, they did declare that the Kingdome of *Scotland* did abominate and deteſt ſo horrid a deſigne againſt his Majesties perſon, and in the name of this Kingdome diſſent from their proceedings, and the taking away of his Majesties life, and proteſt that as the Kingdome of *Scotland* was free from the ſame, ſo they might be free from all the evils, miſeries, confuſions and calamities that might follow there-

upon to these distracted Kingdomes, They did likewise imploy their best endeavours with the Lord *Fairfax*, and others, for preservation of his Majesties person, though without the desired success. And in their paper of the 24. *February*, they did expostulat with the Commons then sitting at *Westminster*, for their breach of declarations, protestations, oathes, Covenants and solemne engagements, for taking away the Kings life by a violent death, for their prohibiting to proclaime the Prince of *Wales* King of these Kingdomes, and for their voting away the Kingly office and the house of Lords, and claiming to themselves the authority of a Parliament. They also desired that nothing might bee done which might wrong King *Charles* the second in his succession as righteous heyre to the Crowne of these Kingdomes, that his just right and title might be acknowledged, and upon just satisfaction given, he might be received and admitted to the exercise of his Government and protested in the name of this Kingdome against all contrary proceedings, for which paper our Commissioners were put under restraint for severall dayes, and afterward sent to the borders of this Kingdome garded with a troope of horse, and a letter being written from the prevailing partie in *England*, to the Parliament of this Kingdome, to know if they would own the papers of their Commissioners: they did by their answer owne and approve their whole proceedings. And no sooner did they heare of his Majesties death, but the very next day the whole Parliament did cause proclaime his sonne the Prince in most solemne manner King of great Brittane, *France*, and *Ireland*, and with all possible expedition acquainted his Majestie therewith, and afterward dispatched away Commissioners to *Holland* with their humble desires to his Majestie for settling Religion in purity and his Kingdomes in peace, faithfully promising and obliging themselves upon his Majesties grant of their desires, to doe all for him that could be expected of loyall subjects to their gracious King, and particularly to contribute their best endeavours by all lawful and necessary means according to the Covenant and the duty of faithful subjects, that his Majestie may be restored to the peaceable possession of the Government of his other Kingdomes, and notwithstanding his Majestie was not pleased then, to grant our desires, but to dismisse our Commissioners without satisfaction, promising a further answer by an expresse to be sent by his Majestie to this Kingdome, and although that expresse never yet came to us, yet we have renewed our humble and earnest desires to his Majesty by another addresse now presently made to his Majestie in the *Isle of Jersey*. And whereas it is said we have declared him King with provisoes, we desire it may be considered, that we have demanded nothing of his Majestie but that which wee are warranted to doe by the lawes of God and this Kingdome.

dom and the example of his predecessors, and which is absolutely necessary for the security of Religion and the peace of this Kingdom. Our endeavour is to walk in the plain straight way, neither falling off to the Malignant partie who would introduce an Arbytrary and unlimited government, and give loose reynes to Kings to do what they please without the advice of the Estates of Parliament, nor declining to the crooked paths of Sectaries, who would undermine and subvert the fundamental and long established Government of the Kingdom; whereof our former Declarations and the late answer of the Parliament the 26. of *June* last to a letter from the prevailing party in *England*, dated at *Westminster* 23. *May*, 1649. may be a sufficient testimony. As we have received these grounds and principles concerning Religion and our civill Liberties from our progenitors, warranted by the Word of God, and constitutions of this Kingdom, so we have maintained the same without alteration these twelve years past, from the first beginning of these troubles, which were raised by our adversaries because we would not give way to those Innovations in Religion and the civill Government which they had designed and projected. And though many in both Kingdoms who have joyned in Covenant with us, fall away, some to the one side and some to the other, yet it is no small encouragement for us to continue in our stedfastnesse, that we see very few of them, that once part from the way wherein they are engaged by Covenant, that can fix their foot again untill by degrees, they wholly backslide and fall away, either to one extreame or the other, and so at length involve themselves in wayes and courses, which not onely true Religion, but right reason may justly condemne and abhorre.

Having thus cleared the Proceedings and transactions of this Kingdome, which all a long from the very first beginning cry aloud against this paskuller as an impudent lyar in all that he saith against us in his Declaration. Wee shall now speak a little concerning his wicked and disloyall carriage towards his King and Countrey, wherein his owne hand-writing, and the records of Parliament will in the first place bear witnes against him.

In the beginning of our troubles, the Lord having put it into the hearts of his people of this land to renew their nationall Covenant formerly taken by King *James*, in the yeare 1580. That dissembling hypocrit *James Grahame*, then Earle of *Montrose*, did with teares in his eyes and both his hands lifted up to heaven sweare the words of that Covenant unto the Lord in the publick Assembly of his people; But being a man of a mean and desperat fortune, and not meeting with that esteem and reward which he in his vanity proposed to himselfe, at the first pacification he began to hearken to the promises of the Court, and to study a faction within; and

hold correspondence with the adverse partie without the Kingdome, and by false information, to divide his Majestie from his people. His base and treacherous practises were divers times discovered, and himself made ashamed, yet would he not give over untill at length he was made prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and afterward brought to his tryall before the Committee for tryall of plotters and incendiaries appointed by his Majestie and the Estates of Parliament, where he was found guiltie of perjurie and treachery, and had he then received his due punishment according to justice, he had not troubled the world since; but such was the mercy and favour of his Majestie and the Estates of Parliament as he was pardoned, and no further censure inflicted upon him, but that his Majestie declared and caused it to bee inserted in the records of Parliament that he should bee incapable of any office or place in the Court or Commonwealth, and not have access to his Majesties person; Yet not long after his enlargement, contrary to his owne promise and the Articles of the large Treaty betwixt his Majestie and this Kingdome, he repaired to his Majestie in *England*, and obtained a Commission for invading his native Country, which shortly thereafter he did attempt upon the south borders, and was repulsed, but rather then fail in his designs, he choosed to joyne himself with that barbarous crew of Popish Irish Rebels which invaded this Kingdome upon the north, with whose assistance (and of some unnaturall COUNTRYMEN, voyd of all religion and humanitie) taking advantage of the quietnes and securitie of this Kingdome when their armies were abroad in *England* and *Ireland*, he did cruelly destroy with the sword divers thousands of his owne COUNTRYMEN, spoyled many of their goods, burned houses and cornes, ravished women, murdered old and young, killed ministers, complied with papists, countinanced Idolaters, and dispised the Worship of God; For which abominable Crymes, and his rebellion and treason, as he was excommunicated by the Church, so he was declared traitor by the Estates of Parliament, his coat of Armes torne, and his Estate forfeited; But for all this, he is not wearie of committing wickednes, and therefore would returne into this Kingdome to over-act all his former transgressions and abominations, But if he shall come, we trust in God it is that he may be brought to a shamefull death and cursed end, and here receive from the hand of justice his deserved punishment, where he hath murthred so many of the Lords people, & *Julian* like hath made apostasie from that cause and Covenant to which he was so solemnly engaged by oath and subscription.

To gaine supplies abroad and assistance at home, this vain man doth publish this his Declaration under the name and title of Lieutenant

tenant Governour and Captaine generall for his Majestie of the King-
 dome of *Scotland*. Upon what bare pretences he did formerly obtain a
 Commission from his late Majestie to invade this Kingdome, wee shall
 not now descant, but wee are very sure that there was scarce any act his
 Majestie could have done that was more destructive to his own interest or
 more displeasing to this Kingdome, it being expressly contrary to the ties
 and bands betwixt King and people; And here we may justly retort upon
James Grahame, that he doth begin with the Son upon the same score
 that he left with the Father, for whether he hath really obtained such a
 Commission from his Majestie, or doth onely abuse his name, Certainly
 he is not capable of doing his Majestie greater dis-service then is held
 forth in that declaration. The King received our Commissioners in *Holland*,
 and the Parliaments Letter, and treated with them, he denyed that he had
 given any Commission to *James Grahame*, or any other to invade this
 Kingdome, & promised a farther answer to our desires by an expresse from
 himself which is never yet come unto us. The strain and scope of the De-
 claration makes the whole Nation the party whom his Majestie gives
 Commission to invade and destroy, for it condemnes all the proceedings
 of the Kingdome, even at the verie first begining of these troubles, as the
 rebellion of an horrid and infamous faction of rebels, at first causlessly
 hatched against his late Majestie of glorious memorie, notwithstanding
 they were approved by his Majesty in the yeare 1639. at the treaty at
Berwick, wherein *James Grahame* himself was an actor and consentor.
 It condemns all the Proceedings of this Kingdome in the year 1640. not-
 withstanding this Majestie is obliged in the large treaty (which is ratifi-
 ed in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes) for himself and his successours
 by his promise *in verbo Principis*, never to come in the contrary ther-
 of, nor any thing therein contained, but to hold the same firme and stable
 in all poynts, and that he shall cause it to be truelie observed by all his
 Majesties Leidges according to the tenour and intent thereof for now and
 ever, these are the verie words of the treaty. And now what can be i-
 magined to be a security to the subjects of this Kingdome, if that which
 their King is solemnly ingaged unto by promise for himself and his
 successours, *in verbo Principis*, and confirmed in the Parliaments of both
 Kingdomes, shall not onlie be questioned, but their desires therein agreed
 unto by his Majestie declared to be violent and most unjust. And all this
 is not enough to quarrell treaties and Establiished laws, and to accuse the
 whole nation, but they are by this declaration accompted more wicked
 then any in *England*, or *Ireland*, this miserable miscreant is better plea-
 sed with the Sectaries or the *Irish* rebels then with his native Country.

wherein he declares his apostacy to be of such a stamp, as he can sooner reconcile with all the world, then with the Cause and Covenant which he did once sweare to maintain and defend. If he may but sit and judge, all those in the Kingdom, who have kepted the oath of God, and made conscience of their Covenant, shall be found accessory to the murder and ruine of the King, and all those who have perjured themselves, and made apostasie from the Cause & Covenant, as he hath done, shall be justified as the only righteous persons of the Nation, as he is pleased to style them in his Declaration. Neither is this the height of his insolency & ambition, but in the frontispice of that pamphlet he is exalted to be Governour of *Scotland*, as if it were a Province or Conquered Nation, a title which our Ancestors would never endure in the person of any but the King, & we trust in God it shall never take place in this nor any subsequent generation. Is it not a sad & lamentable thing, that when his Majesty hath lost Possession of the Kingdom of *England*, is in little better condition for *Ireland*, and only *Scotland* is desirous to imbrace him upon grant of their just desires, there should yet be such Counsellors about his Majesty, as would advise him no otherwayes to come to his Throne in *Scotland* but by Conquest, and before the Conquest be made, to declare the Governour, and to choose that Governour such a one as is more generally hated by many degrees then any person of the Nation? what greater provocations can be given then these, or what designe worse then this can be set on foot to make his Majesty and his people irreconcilable? but we know that no bounds can be set to the wickednes of this malicious man who had rather see both King and Kingdome utterly ruined, then that his own designs should faile, and therefore we are very unwilling to think that these things are done with his Majesties knowledg and approbation, but rather that his Majesties name is abused in that pretended Declaration, or if there hath been any Commission granted unto him, that it hath been surreptitiously purchased from his Majesty; in which opinion we desire to rest, and shall patiently wait for his Majesties Answer to our desires now again presented to his Majesty in the Isle of *Jersey*.

These things being duely weighed and considered by forrain Princes and States, we trust that since we have never done any injury or wrong to them, but have rather been ready to perform all friendly duties in our power as we have had occasion and opportunity, and seeing we only desire to enjoy our Religion and Liberties under his Majesty, according to the word of God, and the Lawes and Constitutions of this Kirk and Kingdome, and are most willing, upon just satisfaction given to our desires presented to his Majesty, and published to the world in Print, not only
to

to receive his Majesty, and submit to his Government; but also to contribute our best endeavours by all lawfull and necessary means according to the Covenant, and the duty of faithfull Subjects, that his Majesty may be restored to the peaceable possession of the government of his other Kingdomes; they will be mindfull of that Common Rule of Justice known by the light of nature, and confirmed by our Saviour Christ, *Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you, doe so to them.* And therefore as they would expect from us in the like case, we doe expect from them that they will neither contribute men nor monies, nor any other ayd or assistance to a declared Traytor, who is neither seeking his Majesties honour and happinesse, nor the good of his native country, but meerly to satisfie his own lusts and ambitious ends, and deliques.

But in a speciall manner we doe expect from all Protestant Princes and States, that they will remember what is said to *Iehosaphat* for assisting *Achab*. *Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord.* And that as they desire to keep the Communion of Saints, they will forbear to give him either countenance or assistance, but look upon him as a person justly excluded from civill society for his Treasonable practises, and excommunicated from the Church of Christ, for his abominable transgressions.

If he shall come into this Kingdome, we are confident that all those in whom the sense of the feare of God, duty to the King, and affections to their native country, is not utterly decayed and extinguished, will hartily and unanimously joyn to resist and oppose him, & to use their best endeavours, that he may be brought to condigne and exemplary punishment.

But if there shall be any found in the land so foolish, base, and treacherous, as to hearken to the vain promises, and empty professions of that scandalous, wicked, and infamous Pamphlet, published under the name of a *Declaration of his Excellencie James Marquesse of Monroffe; Lieutenant Governour, and Captain Generall for his Majestie of the Kingdom of Scotland*, (which, in detestation thereof, we have caused burne publickly at the Crosse of *Edinburgh*, by the hand of the Common Hangman) and shall ayd or assist the said *James Graham*, in his wicked designs against Religion, King, and Kingdom. We doe hereby declare all such as shall joyn or concur with him or his adherents in armes, to be guilty of High Treason, and to be punished and proceeded against as the Parliament or their Committees, shall think fit; And doe further discharge all persons of whatsoever quality or degree, to joyn with them in any Oath,
Band,

Band, or Association whatsoever, or to assist or supply them and their adherents, or any of them with Men, Money, Armes, Ammunition, Victuall, Counsell, or Intelligence, or to keep any sort of correspondence publick or private with them, or any wayes to aid or countenance them or any of them under the pain of being esteemed as Rebels, and proceeded against as the Parliament or their Committees shall think fit, and this we declare to be instead of all Letters of intercommoning. And Power and VVarrant is hereby given to all good subjects within the Kingdom, to rise in Armes for opposing and suppressing all such as shall joine in Rebellion, as they shall be called and required thereunto by the Lord Generall, Lieutenant Generall, or any others having authority for that effect. And for the encouragement of all such as shall suffer in opposing or suppressing them. VVe doe further declare, that not only the losses and sufferings of such as shall be active in the cause against them, shall be taken in speciall consideration, and repaired out of the Estates of such as shall joyn in Rebellion, as aforesaid; but their service shall be rewarded, according as they shall be found to deserve; And we do ordain these presents to be printed and published at the Mercat Crosse of *Edinburgh*, and other ordinary places of publication needfull.

A. I O N S T O N .

Clericus Registri.

FINIS.



